

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4575

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE BEL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 3103

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY US UNGA

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MAKARIOS

SUMMARY: MAKARIOS COMMENTS ON GREEK CYPRIOT ELECTIONS AND THE
ECLIPSE OF CLERIDES. DEPICTS SECRETARY KISSINGER'S CYPRUS PRIN-
CIPLES AS CONTAINING "POSITIVE ELEMENTS WHICH COULD CONSTITUTE
GUIDELINES FOR A SETTLEMENT" AND EXPRESSES INTEREST IN US INTEN-
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TIONS AS TO NEXT STEPS. TRIES TO BRUSH OFF GOC RESPONSIBILITY

FOR CONTINUED USE OF FONMIN'S DISTASTEFUL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE US APPROACH TO TURKEY AS THE "POLICY OF CARESS." PROMISES CONTINUED FULL COOPERATION IN CONCLUDING INVESTIGATION OF THE DAVIES MURDER AND BRINGING THOSE RESPONSIBLE TO TRIAL. ASSURES US OF SUPPORT FOR APPROPRIATE PUBLICITY REGARDING THE EXTENSIVE US AID EFFORT IN CYPRUS. END SUMMARY.

1. WITH DCM DILLERY, I CALLED ON MAKARIOS OCTOBER 4 FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE GOING ON LEAVE AT THE END OF JULY. TO THE NON-CYPRIOT VISITOR HE REFLECTS A BLAND UNCONCERN OVER THE ABSENCE OF MOVEMENT TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF OUR CONVERSATION.

2. GREEK CYPRIOT ELECTIONS. I CONGRATULATED MAKARIOS ON RESULTS OF ELECTIONS WHICH ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED HIS COMINANCE OF GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICS TO A DEGREE WHICH WOULD BE ENVIED BY ANY LEADER IN THE WEST. THE RESULTS, I REMARKED, OF COURSE LEFT A LINGERING CONCERN ABROAD THAT A PRICE MIGHT HAVE TO BE PAID FOR THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST VOTES WHICH HAD ENSURED THE MAJORITY POSITION OF KYPRIANOU'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT. BUT, I SAID, I WAS SURE HIS BEATITUDE'S VIEWS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE THE DETERMINANT OF GOC POLICY.

3. BEATIFICALLY IGNORING ANY IRONY, THE ARCHBISHOP REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT INVOLVE HIMSELF IN POLITICS. HE WAS, HOWEVER, PLEASED THAT IN THESE FIRST ELECTIONS AFTER THE EVENTS OF 1974, THERE HAD BEEN NO VIOLENCE. IMPLYING THAT CLERIDES' FAILURE TO WIN ANY SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAD BEEN SADDENING, HE SAID HE HAD SPOKEN TO CLERIDES SHORTLY BEFORE THE ELECTIONS TO CONVEY A PERSONAL ESTIMATE THAT GIVEN THE POPULAR FRONT COALITION AND THE CYPRUS SYSTEM OF MAJORITY REPRESENTATION (WHICH HE NOTED CLERIDES HAD ERRATICALLY NOW FAVORED, NOW OPPOSED), HE FEARED HE WOULD NOT EVEN BE REPRESENTED IN THE HOUSE. HE HAD OFFERED CLERIDES WHAT ASSISTANCE HE COULD TO WIN TWO OR THREE SEATS. THE RESULTS SHOWED THAT CLERIDES HAD BEEN MISTAKENLY OVER-CONFIDENT IN REJECTING THE PROFFERED ASSISTANCE.

4. U. S. "PRINCIPLES". I REMARKED THAT FONOFF DIRGEN PELAGHIAS HAD MADE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION IN US. IN WASHINGTON
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HE HAD SPOKEN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF REINFORCING THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE US VIEW OF A POSSIBLE CYPRUS SOLUTION, AS FIRST ENUNCIATED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN THE 1975 GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE USG HAD BEEN THINKING ALONG THE SAME LINES AND THE CYPRUS PORTION OF THE SECRETARY'S UNGA SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 30 WAS THE RESULT. I ASKED MAKARIOS FOR "TENTATIVE REACTION" PENDING WHATEVER OFFICIAL STEPS MY GOVERNMENT MIGHT NEXT TAKE IN CONCERT WITH THE WEST EUROPEANS OF WHOM THE SECRETARY HAD SPOKEN.

5. MAKARIOS SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTED THE GOC SPOKESMAN TO RESPOND WITH NO COMMENT ON DR KISSINGER'S SPEECH SO AS NOT TO PREJUDGE OR PREJUDICE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS. SPEAKING DELIBERATELY, THE ARCHBISHOP STATED, TWICE, THAT THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH "CONTAINED POSITIVE ELEMENTS WHICH COULD CONSTITUTE GUIDELINES FOR A SETTLEMENT." THE PRINCIPLES WERE A "USEFUL ELABORATION" OF THE 1975 SPEECH. HE WONDERED IF IT WAS INTENDED THAT THE PRINCIPLES BE PUT INTO PLAY BEFORE THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS. (WHILE MAKARIOS' UNDERLYING CONCERN WAS OBVIOUSLY THAT WE MIGHT SHORT-CIRCUIT HIS RECOURSE TO UNGA), HE SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTED FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES TO BE PREPARED TO DROP RECOURSE IN THE EVENT OF TRULY "POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS" IN THE NEGOTIATION. WHATEVER THE TIMING, HE WONDERED ABOUT THE UTILITY OF MORE TALKS UNDER WALDHEIM IF THE PRINCIPLES COULD NOT BE CONVERTED TO AN ASSURANCE OF SOME PROGRESS ON SUBSTANCE.

6. ON MAKARIOS' FIRST QUESTION AS TO TIMING OF NEXT STEPS, I SAID I COULD ONLY REFER HIM TO THE SECRETARY'S REMARK ABOUT CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES "IN THE DAYS AHEAD." AS WE HAD SO OFTEN DISCUSSED IN THE PAST, THE US ADMINISTRATION HAD EVERY REASON IN JUSTICE AND SELF-INTEREST TO TRY TO MOVE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD QUICKLY AND MEANINGFULLY. REGARDING HIS SECOND QUESTION, ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES WOULD OF ITSELF DENOTE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS AND GIVE MOMENTUM TO NEGOTIATION. MAKARIOS AGREED.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4576

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7. I ASKED THE ARCHBISHOP IF HE HAD REACTED AGAINST ANY ELEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES. HE REPLIED THAT THEY SEEMED IMPRECISE IN SOME RESPECTS. MY ANSWER WAS THAT A DEGREE OF IMPRECISION WAS ESSENTIAL IN PRINCIPLES DESIGNED TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATION RATHER THAN IMPOSE A SOLUTION.

8. THE "POLICY OF CARESS". I TAXED MAKARIOS WITH FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES' DEPARTURE REMARKS CHARACTERIZING THE US APPROACH
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TO TURKEY AS A "POLICY OF CARESS." (NICOSIA 3089, 3070, 3068).
I REPEATED WITH EMPHASIS WHAT I HAD SAID TO PELAGHIAS ABOUT THE REPUGNANCE OF THIS PHRASE, SINCE CARRIED DAILY BY NEWSPAPERS THAT I SAID WERE REGARDED AS MAKARIOS-CONTROLLED. THE ARCHBISHOP HEDGED (A) BY ASKING IF WE WERE QUESTIONING HIS RIGHT PUBLICLY TO DISAGREE WITH THE US POLICY APPROACH TO TURKEY, OR ONLY THE LANGUAGE USED? (B) NOTING THAT THE GREEK ORIGINAL DID NOT HAVE THE SAME FLAVOR AS THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION, AND (C) IN A NON SEQUITUR SAYING HE HAD SINCE INSTRUCTED CHRISTOPHIDES NOT TO CRITICIZE THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH. I SAID CYPRUS HAD EVERY FREEDOM TO DIFFER WITH US ON POLICY TOWARDS TURKEY BUT OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE WOULD HELP NO ONE; THE TRANSLATION HAD BEEN CHECKED BY EXPERTS AND WAS NO LESS DISTASTEFUL IN GREEK THAN IN ENGLISH.

9. ASSASSINATION OF AMBASSADOR DAVIES. REPORT BY SEPTTEL, NOTAL.

10. I NOTED THAT US AID TO CYPRUS WOULD CONTINUE IN FY 1977 TO BE ABOUT THE HIGHEST PER CAPITA--AND CERTAINLY THE HIGHEST PER REFUGEE--IN THE WORLD. HE SAID THAT IS CORRECT. I SAID EVEN THE MOST ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTERS OF CYPRUS IN THE US WONDERED WHY NO CYPRIOT WAS AWARE OF THIS, I.E. WHY NO EMBASSY PRESS RELEASES WERE EVER CARRIED IN THE MEDIA AND GOC PUBLICITY, IN-

CLUDING THE ARCHBISHOP'S OCCASIONAL STATEMENTS, SPOKE ONLY OF
SOVIET BLOC AND NON-ALIGNED AID, WHICH WAS IN FACT ABOUT ZERO.
ANGERED MOMENTARILY, MAKARIOS NEVERTHELESS SAID HE WOULD INSTRUCT
THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN TO WORK WITH US ON BETTER COOPERATION
AND SUITABLY PUBLICITY FOR THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN AID.
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